The 1920s: A Turning Point for North Queensland Aborigines

Dawn May

Submitted 9 December, 1988

A significant number of North Queensland Aborigines had their first contact with the western economic system on remote cattle stations and as these two disparate cultures coalesced, both were ultimately transformed. In the handling of cattle, white station operators became heavily reliant on Aboriginal skills and techniques and the local black population began incorporating aspects of station routine into a modified lifestyle. By the turn of the century, Aborigines had been working on some northern properties for almost three decades. During the earliest years, employment arrangements were determined by the station owner or manager and local Aborigines with little outside intervention. However with the passing of the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897, labour relations in Queensland became a much more complex process involving the state, mission officials, the labour movement and international capital to a greater extent than in other parts of northern Australia. By the 1920s significant changes had occurred markedly affecting the nature of Aboriginal labour.

Although many early ethnographers portrayed Aboriginal culture as static, contemporary opinion has reversed this idea. It has now been demonstrated that Aborigines have been continually responding to ecological changes and challenges over time. It should therefore come as no surprise to find that when confronted by the destructive forces of European colonisation, Aborigines responded to the threat by reorganising their economic life. They quickly realised that by providing labour on stations, they could live legitimately on their own land without fear of being hunted. On *Mt. Mulgrave* station for instance, those that participated in the station routine before World War I not only remained on their tribal territory but initially retained many of their old traditions. However other members of the same group who opted to remain in the bush were not guaranteed the same security and when found on the run were usually dispersed. A former manager's wife recalled that there were always "wild blacks roaming round on the outer fringes of the run. Cattle were speared, and she knew the boss, like other cattlemen was hard on any raiders he caught."[1] Even when they went to work on properties, station blacks continued to liaise with those in the bush. If ceremonies were staged

Dr Dawn May is lecturer in history at the Cairns Campus of the James Cook University of North Queensland.

in the region, some station employees simply left returning when their social and religious obligations were completed. Although many employers complained bitterly of the disruption this caused to station routine, the Aboriginal link with the land worked to the operator's advantage. If the station was located on the group's ancestral territory, it would be the desire of the fully initiated men, regardless of conditions on the property, to spend a considerable amount of time there to maintain spiritual sites.

It was common for Aborigines to fiercely resist attempts to take them away from their homeland.[2] Some Europeans were aware that the Aboriginal link with the land made it difficult to transfer blacks from one district to another; the Home Secretary informed the Queensland Governor that "they fret and pine for their old haunts and surroundings and, if too far away to enable them to return, they are apt to become restive and rebellious."[3]

For generations this attachment to their home territory remained an obstacle to some facets of stockwork. Phil Schaffert, widely regarded as an expert on Aboriginal labour, recalled that on one trip from his gulf station into the open and treeless channel country, an Aboriginal stockman accompanying him became more unsettled the further south the team went. It was obvious to all that the old man was thoroughly unsettled by the strange environment and he eventually decided to return to the station. Schaffert explained that the man could no longer tolerate the unfamiliar country where the birds and animals were unknown to him. "The old fellow thought he might die of starvation in the strange country."[4]

Indeed the ability of station Aborigines to have access to traditional food while mustering the white man's cattle was another attraction of station life. Europeans have left a number of colourful accounts of the Aboriginal enthusiasm in combining the two enterprises. One observer wrote that:

> Should a snake, iguana, or lizard be observed, it is quickly dispatched and attached to their saddles, the tails of the two latter being especially esteemed as great delicacies... If in camp early, when their horses are hobbled out, firewood procured, fires lit, billies and water bags filled, they turn their attention to whatever amusement or diversion the immediate surrounds would provide. Trees are examined for 'possums, wild bees (or sugar bag, as they call them); the surface of the lagoon or waterhole, as the case may be, will be eagerly scanned for duck or other water fowl; if in the mood they will throw hooks in for whatever fish it may contain to further vary their diet.[5]

This not only gave variety to the station food consisting mainly of beef, damper and tea but it ensured the maintenance of hunting and tracking skills which were vital to the industry organised as it was on the open range system. It was widely recognised that bush skills were

also crucial in keeping cattle on the remote and unfenced properties of northern Australia.

Techniques associated with cattle mustering bore many similarities to the traditional activities. The work was done by groups of people under the leadership of a European headstockman. This arrangement suited Aborigines as they had the company of fellow clan members. The mustering of cattle required a high degree of co-operation between members of the group, the very characteristic dominant in the hunting of game. In traditional life, this complex co-operation in their hunting pursuits gave the group social cohesion and reinforced the communal nature of the clan. One of the most common criticisms levelled at Aborigines was that they were good stockmen, better in most cases than whites,[6] but they were incapable of working without supervision. More enlightened employers were aware that when blacks were working in their own environment they could slip back into their own system if a European was not present. Turnbull of *Armraynald* preferred black to white stockmen but realised that it was expedient to employ both. He pointed out that "blacks needed a European to steady and boss them [or else] a horse or cattle muster would probably turn into a wallaby hunt or a fish spearing expedition were it not for the presence of a white man."[7]

While Aborigines remained in their own environment, they also had the security of traditional remedies. As sickness and death were often attributed to the "malignant magic of distant tribes",[8] European medication was no substitute for bush cures. There are many recordings of the reluctance of station Aborigines to seek help from Europeans. The manager of *Lorraine* station, when reporting the death of a woman, advised that she had been "in declining health for some time but the seriousness of her condition was not reported to me until it was too late to render assistance effectively."[9] On other occasions Aborigines would tolerate European cures but the treatment dispensed by bush doctors was more highly valued. When an Aboriginal domestic was sick on *Mt. Mulgrave* station the manager's wife prepared the food she considered suitable for the invalid — beef, tea, poultry, custard and so forth. Mrs. Maunsell remembered that Maggie ate it to please her but showed no signs of improving. When the woman's husband came in from mustering he asked the boss if he could take his wife to see their old medicine man; on their return to the station several weeks later the woman happily pronounced herself cured.[10] A similar situation occurred on *Koolatah* station in the mid 1930s. An Aboriginal domestic was badly burnt when a petrol iron exploded. The manager contacted the Cloncurry doctor by wireless and was advised to "give the gin any amount of oil and clean rags". Although this was done, the woman's husband insisted on taking her to a "bush doctor".[11] In an incident at the Dunbar AIM hospital, nursing staff experienced a "very worrying

Preparing for a mustering trip. Employers generally found Aborigines worked better when they were able to remain in their own country.
Cummins & Campbell Magazine, February 1949.

time" when handling a group of Aborigines with extremely high temperatures. Sister Shaw reported that "we spent a good deal of last night chasing them down the paddock and watching in case they went into the lagoon".[12] They failed to realise that immersion in water or the aplication of wet mud packs was standard Aboriginal treatment for feverish patients.

Nor could Aborigines see any benefits in European housing and attempts to introduce it, albeit of the most inferior standard, were often thwarted by station employees. They were not used to being shut away from one another in buildings and frequently opted to live in the open as they had done in traditional life. "They prefer to carry on their tribal way of sleeping on the ground in the open with a fire burning throughout the night," a Gulf cattleman explained. "They make for themselves gunyahs of palm leaves, or boughs of trees. They seem to want nothing better."[13] On *Wooroora* station Aboriginal staff rarely used the hut provided for their use. They camped outside and only moved in for the owner's sake when a visit from the protector was imminent.[14] By rejecting European-style accommodation, Aborigines were able to retain flexibility in the siting of various groups; camps for young men, old women and old men in accordance with traditional practices.

Picnic races were also readily absorbed into the Aboriginal system. These were staged in most small towns[15] before World War I with many stations[16] also hosting similar events. Europeans eagerly looked forward to these gatherings as social occasions but for the Aborigines they had much wider significance. They provided them with the opportunity of carrying out all those matters that had been dealt with at the tribal gatherings of the clans. In pre-contact times, these would have occurred when there was a surplus of native food but the availability of European rations permitted flexibility in timing. Moreover, travel to these "modern" versions of tribal gatherings was somewhat easier by European transport.[17] In the evening, while Europeans attended dances, Aborigines staged traditional ceremonies. Sometimes these were simply for pleasure but on other occasions they were ritualistic.[18] Marriages were also negotiated[19] and initiation rites conducted.[20]

While Aborigines did their best to accommodate the European presence, the colonisers also encouraged employees to retain some aspects of their culture. On stations using the open range system with no fencing and limited maintenance, there was little to do once the mustering had been completed. At this time Europeans would be paid off and would invariably drift into another job or out of the district completely, in many cases never to return. This was not the case with Aboriginal workers. Employers realised that the "walkabout" was actually an asset to station management so long as the timing could be changed to coincide with slack periods. Managers assisted in this

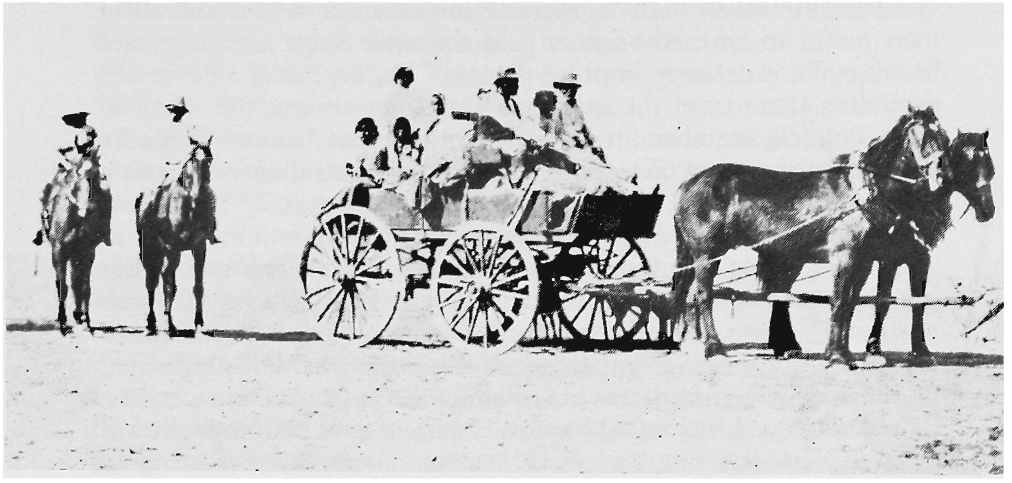
process by allowing Aborigines to use station horses and even carts, a privilege never extended to European employees. This made it easier to transport aged dependants and to carry any stores provided by the station. The "walkabout" relieved the owners of the cost of keeping Aborigines at a time when the marginal returns to labour were low and experienced cattlemen were well aware that Aborigines worked better if they went away for a spell.[21] They also knew that allowing aged relatives to live on the stations provided a steadying influence on those regularly employed.[22] Besides economic considerations, there were also social benefits to be derived from the Aboriginal mode. Because of the novelty and lack of alternative entertainment, whites displayed an interest in the lifestyle of the traditional owners of the land.

Even in the early decades of the twentieth century, if there were vistors to the station, black employees would be asked to stage a corroboree. It was also common for European children to go on hunting expeditions with station blacks. Monty Atkinson recalled that as a child he went on "walkabout" every Sunday with the Aborignial women if the stockmen were camped out on the run.[23] The Ross children from *Croydon Downs* were similarly entertained by the Aborigines. Alister Ross remembered that:

> As a result of our wanderings with the blacks, we boys were all well up in hunting long before we knew our letters. At a glance we could tell if a possum had gone up a tree or if a small hole in the top branch of a sixty foot gum tree was the entrance to a parrot's nest — marks made in the dust or on the bark of trees by the smallest animals, and invisible to the unitiated, were plain to us.[24]

Europeans were also interested in Aboriginal artifacts. Jane Black purchased "native weapons" from one of the *Pajingo* station stockmen[25] and E.G. Burnett, manager of *Lorraine* station was in possession of an Aboriginal wishing stone, a description of which he was willing to provide to the Australian Museum. He was however not prepared to part with it.[26] Winter-Irving fondly remembered that a *Chudleigh Park* Aborigine had taught him to make spears, boomerangs and a couple of woomeras for spear throwing and spent hours showing him how to use them.[27] The production of these weapons was simplified when European tools were used. A former manager of *Armraynald* station pointed out that as a rule they "were more highly finished than myalls" and that a spokesshave, plane etc. came in very handy being much serviceable tools that flints and broken bottle.[28]

But despite the many and varied ways in which Aborigines tried to accommodate the European system into their own, other forces were at work which proved devastating. Undoubtedly the single most destructive force was the marked decline in numbers. Among other things, depopulation tended to limit marriage partners. Concern



European transportation was readily absorbed into Aboriginal culture facilitating traditional activities.

John Oxley Library

about the lack of females was evident as early as 1903[29] and by 1912 the Chief Protector was receiving complaints from most districts about the unavailability of wives for Aboriginal men. He was told that it would become a serious matter in the future unless some action was taken. There was also mounting concern about the future supply of Aboriginal labour. Faced with the problem in the Northern Territory, H.E. Thoneman introduced a scheme to encourage women to produce more children. He arranged to have a bullock killed and gave a bag of flour to the camp for a celebration each time a baby was born. In addition the mother and child were brought to the house and fed and clothed in exchange for some light domestic work. "This pleased us," one woman recalled, "because we liked working for Mrs. Giles and it saved our hunting for food."[30] Thoneman was part owner of *Miranda Downs* station in Queensland at the same time and it is possible that he and other Queensland employers introduced a similar scheme there.

The loss of tribal language was another factor which seriously disrupted the Aboriginal system. Linguists argue that the role of language in the process of tribal disintegration cannot be over-emphasised. Dixon wrote that if "a minority group is to maintain its ethnic identity and social cohesion it must retain its language".[31]

Apart from the loss of population and language, the state's land legislation also worked against the maintenance of the Aboriginal mode. Strong public support for closer settlement saw substantial resumptions from North Queensland cattle stations during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The operators of these smaller properties were less able to support large camps of relatively

Meanwhile Australian Workers Union officials were doing all in their power to have Aborigines paid the same wage as whites, not because of any desire to improve the lot of blacks, but as a device for excluding them from the industry. Travelling around the north in 1918, Pollock, member for Gregory noticed that "scores of blacks were being employed on stations while young Australians were going about with swags and packhorses searching for work."[32] He argued that Aborigines should give up their jobs to the white man who was "unable to scratch for himself the same as a blackfellow and unless [the European could] get a job on a station, he [was] in a very difficult position."[33] With mounting pressure from the labour movement to remove Aborigines from the industry, the A.W.U.-dominated Queensland government was in a dilemma. To appease white workers, it needed to introduce equal pay for Aborigines but in doing so it was believed that large numbers would become unemployed creating an additional burden on the state. A compromise was reached. Aborigines were excluded from the Station Hands Award but a new employment regulation was drawn up setting the wage of adult Aboriginal stockmen at two-thirds the white rate. This was far and away the highest pay for black stockmen in Australia.

Within two years of the Regulation being introduced, plummeting world meat prices saw the collapse of the North Queensland beef export trade. Few stations operated at a profit throughout the 1920s and 1930s[34] and on the eve of the Royal Commission into the Beef Cattle Industry in 1928 many growers believed that a prosperous cattle industry was a thing of the past. As an economy measure employers began discharging blacks at the end of the mustering season creating a large body of workers without station affiliation. This markedly affected labour output as there was a strong correlation between the Aboriginal ability to remain on their own country and employers' satisfaction with their work.[35] Station labour was further destabilised when employers began sending dependants to missions and settlements,[36] Palm Island having been established only a couple of years previously.

Small inland towns became the new focal points for the many Aborigines who became part of the casual workforce in the 1920s. They were forced into these centres during the non-mustering season so they could have access to their savings accounts, controlled by local protectors. During this period of unemployment, most took up residence in the town camps stretching facilities to the limit. In the 1940s for instance there were hundreds of Aborigines camped on the outskirts of Burketown under makeshift shelter. The local protector was an integral feature of camp life. Apart from dispensing money from workers' savings accounts, he assumed the role of employment officer dispatching labour to stations on demand.[37]

From the 1930s an increasing number of Aborigines were recruited from missions. However employers tended to be critical of workers obtained from this source. The reduced time spent in obtaining bush food had an impact on their traditional skills. Anthropologist Ursula McConnell who lived with Cape York Peninsula blacks for several years in the 'thirties observed that the "young native trained at the mission is less able to secure game than the bush trained native. He has already lost something of his bush heritage."[38] Moreover mission Aborigines lacked the long apprenticeship of station-raised children who were exposed to cattle work at a much earlier age. Many were learning to ride ponies and handle young cattle from the age of five or six. Mission Aborigines by contrast were not normally introduced to stockwork until they were at least 15. Although missions did have their own stock camps, these were not generally used as training grounds for young lads. Bob Norman from Bush Pilots Airways who knew the peninsula missions and cattle stations well, was critical of this failing arguing that:

> The young black stockman, leaving the Mission for the first job on the station is as raw as a city kid. If he gets to a good station he will be properly trained and he will later marry and take his wife to the station and rear his children there. If he doesn't get a good station he will long to be back with his friends at the mission. He will probably see the year of his indenture through. From there on he is not interested in stockwork and will live... his life away at the mission.[39]

Clearly employers' interests were best served by a workforce displaying pre-industrial characteristics but Queensland government administrators were committed to the notion of using sections of the 1897 Act to impose the western concepts of work. It was believed that the signing of employment agreements for instance, would tie Aborigines to specific jobs for set a period of time leading to the elimination of undesirable traits such as nomadism.[40] Chief Protector Bleakley was critical of employers' refusal to take Aborigines before the courts when they absconded from stations.

> Of course the employers have their redress through the court under the Masters and Servants Act but very few will go to this trouble for, as they say, a dissatisfied aboriginal is of no use as a servant.[41]

Two major problems confronting the state after World War I was the maintenance of a viable cattle industry and the desire to keep expenditure on Aboriginal relief to a minimum. Both problems were simultaneously solved by ensuring that Aborigines were available for work in the cattle industry. The government was able to accommodate the need for a lowly paid workforce by setting the wages of Aborigines in the cattle industry well below those of Europeans doing the same work. It also played an important part in ensuring that labour remained in the areas where it was most needed. While the movement

Incorporation into station life meant the wearing of European clothing.
John Oxley Library.

of European workers could not be controlled this was not the case with blacks. Removal orders were an ideal device for controlling their lives; the threat of being sent to a government settlement kept them submissive. Jimmy was removed from Gunnawarra in 1922 for being bad tempered and abusive[42] and Aggie from *Gregory Downs* for "poor conduct".[43] Frequently this action was initiated by government officials rather than the station owner or manager. The Cardwell protector requested the removal of an Upper Murray man for causing discontent among Aborigines by advising them not to sign agreements.[44] In another incident the Maytown Aboriginal protector threatened to send nine *Wrotham Park* blacks to a southern settlement if they did not renew their agreements.[45] On other occasions protectors would send Aborigines to a settlement if they refused to work[46] or were regarded as troublemakers.[47] The Charters Towers protector recommended the removal of a man to Palm Island because he caused "discontent amongst those blacks who were under agreement".[48]

The fear of being sent to Palm Island was just as pronounced in the western regions of the state. Jack Punch remembered that "everybody was sort of frightened. They used to think they'd be sent to Palm Island... They didn't know what Palm Island was. They thought it was a sort of Jail."[49] Once a removal order was obtained, Aborigines had no redress and in many instances were unaware of the reason for their transfer. It was not uncommon for people who were the victim of crimes, to be sent to Palm Island. A former protector explained that he had to send blacks from Gregory Downs district because they were a "nuisance". "They were being worked without pay and were being bedded down," he said.[50] The zeal with which removal orders were administered makes it easy to understand why there has never been a strike amongst Aboriginal stockmen in Queensland when similar events have occurred in both the Northern Territory and Western Australia. It was so easy to diffuse potential trouble by removing offenders to Palm Island.

Notwithstanding protectors' willingness to send them away, the general consensus was that Aborigines' "normal calling" was work on remote cattle stations. Departmental paternalism consistently stifled any display of initiative that may have led to the emergence of Aborigines as anything but wage labour. For instance the collection of kangaroo skins and dingo scalps was one avenue for station Aborigines to obtain money outside departmental control. However the Chief Protector was unhappy that some Aborigines found trapping and shooting a more congenial lifestyle than "regular" work.[51] In his mind their place in the European system was as a wage labourer, most definitely not as a self-employed member of the community. One of his main concerns with Aborigines working on

their own account was that they tended to move around and this meant a loss of control by the protector.

From the 1920s the number of North Queensland stations staffed with local workers rapidly declined. Almost all Aboriginal labour was pushed into country town camps and missions which made it easier for protectors to carry out their duty of making labour available for station use. Displaced from their tribal land, the nature of Aboriginal labour underwent a considerable transformation. As they were drawn further into the cash economy they became more dependent on European goods; their limited education ensured that they remained in the lowest stratas of the white system. Yet Aborigines were not transformed into a class of wage labourers in the true sense. Although their tribal system had been shattered, vestiges of their culture remained indelibly stamped on the Aboriginal identity. No longer were they traditional Aborigines but in no sense could they be regarded as black whites.

END NOTES

1. Holthouse 1973: 112.
2. A.R. CPA 1905, *QPP* 1906:2:920.
3. Cited in A.R. NPA 1901, *QPP*1902: 1:1148-9.
4. Interview with Phil Schaffert in Cairns on 6 August 1982.
5. *Dalgety Review*, October 1902.
6. A.R. NPA 1903, *QPP* 1904:847.
7. Letter reprinted in *Science of Man*, June 1911: 40.
8. See Reynolds 1983: 47.
9. Manager to Aboriginal Protector, Cloncurry, 6 December 1928, Lorraine station letterbook.
10. Holthouse 1973.
11. Report of Normanton Protector of Aborigines, A/3811.*QSA*.
12. Shaw to Hughes, 10 April 1944, Folder 3 Box 79, AIM Records. 5574.
13. E.S. Wilkinson, "Aborigines in the Gulf Country", undated cutting, Aborigines Cutting Book.
14. Interview with Lydia Robinson and her sister Catherine Robertson who grew up on Wooroora station.
15. Including Normanton, Cloncurry, Burketown, Croydon, Palmerville, Gilbert River, Hughenden and Urandangie.
16. Including Gregory Downs, Wrotham Park, Milgarra, Bang Bang, Fletchervale, Maryvale, Clutha and Lyndhurst.
17. See May 1986: 159.
18. Holthouse 1974: 144.
19. Dent 1976: 15.
20. McKellar 1984: 58.
21. King to Galbraith, 24 April 1904, A/44681.
22. Employers invariably argued that because they were forced to assume responsibility for a body of unemployed dependants, that Aboriginal labour was no cheaper than white. Inspecting the Carandotta books in 1903 Roth learned that the total cost to the station of employing ten Aborigines along with a further 10 relatives and others casually employed "if at all" was £278/6/- (A.R. NPA 1903,*QPP* 1904; 849). The cost of employing ten Europeans, if indeed they could be obtained, would have been at least three

times that amount.
23. Atkinson 1979: 57.
24. A.R. Ross to his son Sandy written in 1929 — by courtesy of Kathy Gillespie, a descendant of Ross.
25. Pajingo station records, 9 November 1905.
26. Burnett to Australian Museum, Sydney 23 November 1931, Lorraine station records.
27. Winter-Irving 1971: 79.
28. *Science of Man*, July 1911:60.
29. A.R. NPA 1903, *QPP* 1904:863. See also A/44681.
30. Thoneman 1949: 124-5.
31. Dixon 1980:80.
32. *QPD* 1919-20:134:2570.
33. **Ibid.**
34. Royal Commission into the Queensland Cattle Industry: 595.
35. For a fuller discussion of this aspect see May 1986: 309.
36. May 1986: 334-5.
37. May, Aboriginal Labour in the North Queensland Cattle Industry, chapter 8 and May 1985: 208-14.
38. McConnell 1936.
39. *North Australian Monthly* 1959: 53.
40. See May 1986: 66-76.
41. A.R. CPA 1913, *QPP* 1914:3:1020.
42. 22/10350, H.S. Register of Letters 1922,HOM/B60.
43. 23/9878, H.S. Register of Letters 1923, HOM/B52.
44. Aboriginal Protector to CPA 13 June 1927, Letterbook, Protector of aborigines, 1926-30, Clerk of Petty Sessions, Cardwell, CPS12/J/W9.
45. Wrotham Park Inquiry, A/31709.
46. A/20595, Letterbook, 1916-30 Nebo Protector of Aborigines.
47. 22/919 H.S. Register of Letters, 1922, HOM/B60.
48. Charters Towers Protector to CPA 28/5459 HOM/J679.
49. Cited in Rosser 1986:85.
50. Interview with Bob Hegarty, Cooktown.
51. A.R. CPA 1929, *QPP* 1930:1:947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atkinson, Robert, *Northern Pioneers,* Townsville, 1979.

Australian Inland Mission — Dunbar Hospital Records. 5574. Australian National Library.

Chief Protector of Aboriginals. "Annual Reports" in *Queensland Parliamentary Papers,* 1906, 1914, 1930.

Chief Protector of Aborigines. Correspondence. A/44681. Queensland State Archives.

Clerk of Petty Sessions, Cardwell — Letterbooks, 1926-30. CPS 12J/W9. Queensland State Archives.

Dalgety Review, October 1902.

Dent, Marian, "The Life of 'Topsy;" *Mimag,* September 1976:11-16.

Dixon, Robert Malcolm. *The Languages of Australia.* London, 1980.

Holthouse, Hector, *S'Pose I Die: The Story of Evelyn Maunsell.* Sydney, 1973.

Home Secretary's Office — General Correspondence, Protector of Aborigines, Normanton, Report. A/3811. Queensland State Archives.

Home Secretary's Office — Register of General Correspondence, 1922, 1923. Queensland State Archives.

Home Secretary's Office — Wrotham Park Inquiry, 1927-9, A/31709. Queensland State Archives.
Lorraine station letterbook held in History Dept., James Cook University.
McConnell, Ursula, "Cape York Peninsula", *Walkabout,* 2(9), 1936.
McKellar, Hazel. *Matya-Mundu: History of the Aboriginal People of South West Queensland.* Cunnamulla, 1984.
May, Dawn. Aboriginal Labour in the North Queensland Cattle Industry 1987-1968, PhD thesis, James Cook University, 1986.
May, Dawn, "The Role of the State in Fabricating a Black Working Class in the North Queensland Cattle Industry", in D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday (eds) *Employment and Unemployment: a Collection of Papers,* Darwin, 1985, pp. 208-14.
North Australian Monthly, March 1959.
Northern Protector of Aboriginals. "Annual Reports" in *Queensland Parliamentary Papers.* 1902, 1904.
Pajingo station records. James Cook University library.
Protector of Aborigines Nebo — Letterbook, 1916-30, A/20595. Queensland State Archives.
Queensland Parliamentary Debates, 1919-20.
Reynolds, Henry, *The Other Side of the Frontier.* Ringwood, 1983.
Rosser, Bill. *Dreamtime Nightmare: Biographies of Aborigines under the Queensland Aborigines Act.* Canberra, 1986.
Royal Commission into the Queensland Beef Cattle Industry. *Queensland Parliamentary Papers,* 1928:581-641.
Science of Man 1 June 1911.
Taylor, John. "Pre-Contact Aboriginal Medical System on Cape York Peninsula", *Journal of Human Evolution,* 6, 1977:419-32.
Thoneman, H.E. *Tell the White man: The Life Story of an Aboriginal Lubra.* London, 1949.
Wilkinson, E.S. "Aborigines in the Gulf Country", undated cutting, Aborigines Cutting Book. John Oxley Library.
Winter-Irving, William, *Beyond the Bitumen.* Adelaide, 1971.